

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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The Principia

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals and Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and other crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the *type of Heaven*. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law of expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

Editor friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL NECESSITY.

What is it? And how is it to be provided for?

Certain forms of expression every day and every where heard, at the North, bear testimony that a necessity for some great change in our national policy in respect to the slaves of the south is generally felt.—More than this. Those forms of expression indicate the direction in which that necessary change is supposed to lie.

We never hear it said that “if it should be found necessary, in order to suppress the rebellion, to *tighten* the bonds of the slave, the Government, ought to adopt measures to that end.” At least, this is said by none, except by those white feather pacifiers whose advice is regarded considerably below par, in the political market, just now.

But we do hear it said, by Democrats as well as by Republicans, by Conservatists, as well as by Agitators that “if it should be found necessary to liberate the slaves, in order to suppress the rebellion, the Government ought to resort to that measure.”

Thus far, there is very nearly, already, an unanimity of sentiment, among the loyal citizens of the loyal States. This is one great point gained. It implies, at least, an apprehension, a suspicion that the necessity may already have arisen, or may soon arise. This opens and invites a discussion of the entire subject, in all its bearings. The discussion is carried on, and by none more earnestly than by the very few who have not yet done with crying out against agitating discussions.

Not only so. Not merely are discussions of measures in that direction going on, but different measures of that character, so far as they go, are already adopted, and some of them are in operation. The experiment, to a certain extent, is being made, and we are beginning to reap results.

First, we had the Confiscation Act, of the extra session of Congress, reluctantly signed by the President. The President's recent Message indicates his expectation that further measures, in the same direction, may be proposed in the present Congress, and he says that they will deserve consideration. Even before his Message comes under the notice of Congress, a number of proposals for advance measures are started in both Houses.

In the military department, a similar activity, and restlessness are witnessed. Gen. Butler starts in the race, and is followed by Gen. Wool, and Gen. Fremont. The President and Cabinet check and displace Fremont, but without being able to check the popular demand, or to displace the idea.

Secretary Cameron in his Report, makes a fresh move, the President again interposes, but only to add impulse and progress to the public mind. There is variety of planning

amid uniformity of purpose. On two points all are agreed, namely, that something must be done with the slaves, and that there must be some settled and uniform policy, not yet attained. In vain does conservatism council silence, and refer all to the Government. The people will keep on talking, and the Government is, apparently waiting and listening, to hear what the people say.—As the people determine, so will the Government act, or act blindly.

It is in place, therefore, to compare the different plans proposed, and consider their adaptation to the end in view, namely, to overcome the rebellion, preserve the Union, and restore permanent peace. Any just plan that would best effect this, should find favor. Any plan that would evidently fail of this, should be rejected as useless.

From this point of observation, let us take a survey.

1. What are the intermediate propositions, on which all reflecting loyal citizens may be, at once, agreed? What are the elements of success to be sought after, and secured, by meddling with this slavery question, at all? Something may, doubtless, be said, and agreed upon, here, or the subject might as well be dismissed—but dismissed it cannot and will not be.

1. We all wish to weaken the rebellion.

2. We all wish to strengthen the Government.

3. In order to this, we must attract to our side, the colored population of the South, the great majority of whom are slaves.

4. We must attract also, that portion of the *whites* of the South who can be attracted.

These are, undoubtedly, those who are most oppressed by the *slave system*, most desirous of being relieved from it, including those who are in sentiment and on principle, opposed to it.

These are to be found, chiefly, among the intelligent, worthy, and thrifty portion of the non-slaveholders, or those who have but very few slaves, and would gladly give them up to get rid of the oppressive system.

The number of such cannot be small. The nation and the world will be astonished at their numbers, when once they shall be in a position to speak out, and show themselves.

5. We must take the course that would most suddenly startle, alarm, and dishearten the rebel slaveholders; especially the leaders of the rebellion, who have most at stake in it.

6. We must take the course that will most effectively rouse the spirit of freedom, and the love of free institutions in the loyal and border States. It is mainly upon the prevalence, vigor, and intensity of this spirit, the spirit of '76, among the masses of the loyal people—among the hard-handed yeomanry, the mechanics, laboring men, youth, and active, enterprising citizens—that the Government must depend, for putting down this rebellion. If the spirit of liberty, the spirit of the American Revolution declines—nay, if it is not vigorously roused and intensified, the oligarchy that rules the rebellion will be likely to gather strength, increase its Northern sympathizers, and prevail.

7. We must adopt the policy that will, most undeniably, array on our side, the moral sentiment, the sympathy, the approbation, and prayers of the Christian and civilized world—of the most enlightened and virtuous of all lands, as well as of our own country.—The religious sentiment, everywhere, must be invoked and secured.

8. The approbation and favor of the Supreme Ruler, Judge, and Providential Governor of the World—who has declared himself the refuge and deliverer of the oppressed—must be secured, or our efforts will prove unavailing.

The line of policy that secures each and every one of these elements of power, will undoubtedly prevail. If such a course can clearly be pointed out, it should be unhesitatingly adopted.

And any course of policy, inconsistent with securing either of these, should be rejected as delusive and suicidal. All reasonable minds must acknowledge this. We come then to the next inquiry.

II. Which, of all the proposed or conceivable courses of policy, will best answer to the description and enumeration of pre-requisites that have been given?

To ask this question, after what has already been said, is to suggest the answer.—The reader will involuntarily anticipate it. Nevertheless it is well to examine the matter in its details. This we hope to do, in another number.

THE CONTRABANDS IN WASHINGTON JAIL.

Senator Wilson, in the course of his remarks to-day, referred to a report made to Provost-Marshal Albert Porter, by Detective Allen, in the employ of the Government, on the condition of “contrabands” in Washington Jail. It is dated November 18, and says:

“I find incarcerated in the City Jail in this city, in the midst of filth, vermin, and contagious diseases, on a cold, stone floor, many without shoes, nearly all without sufficient clothing, bedding, or fire, and in a half-starving condition, 60 colored persons, male and female, confined because—in the language of their commitments—they were suspected of being runaways, and no proofs had been adduced that they were not runaways. There are a number of cases of freeborn men, such as that of John Aleslock alias Welford, committed May 10, 1861, who states that he is a freeman of about 24 years of age, born in Albemarle County, Va.; has a wife and child in Charlottesville, free; left home because they were taking up all free colored persons, and compelling them to go in the front of battle, and came direct to Washington; was taken up on the second day after his arrival, while crossing the aqueduct, the constable saying that he would have to keep him a year, and then sell him to pay his fees; a month ago understood the fees amounted to \$60; he has had no change of clothing since he came here; he has not had enough to eat. Richard Oliver, committed Aug. 8; born free in Baltimore; came to Washington with the 21st Pennsylvania Regiment; was arrested on the way with them to Georgetown; John Matthews, committed July 26; born in the District, 24 years old, slave of Mrs. White. Hired out to Company C, 2d. Ohio, as cook; staid with them till they went home. On the day he was to be paid he was arrested. No objection to returning to Mrs. White. Bill Bowie, committed Sept. 21 by John H. Newman; born in St. Paul, Minnesota, aged about 21; left last Summer with 1st Minnesota as cook for the Captain and First Lieutenant of Company A; taken up in Georgetown as a runaway when going to the regiment. He was not allowed to send there for proofs of freedom. The constable said a pass would make no difference, as runaways frequently got them from regiments. Eliza A. West, has 12 children. Her master is a rebel. She left because she was struck with a poker by her master, and was refused to let go to Church. One or two miscellaneous cases may be added.”

Statements from each of the sixty follow, filling over fifty pages. In some cases the slaves say that they have no objection to returning to their masters, why, let any one tell us?

John Davis, born in Alexandria County, committed Aug. 3; always a slave of Col. George Minor; came with his mother, who was Minor's housekeeper, to town with a load of wood, which they sold; Drake de Kay and Gen. Mansfield's aid, to whom he applied for a pass, advised him not to go back, as his master was a rebel. After staying two days in Georgetown they went again for a pass. Finding the office crowded, he carried the baggage to the depot for soldiers, and was arrested on the way; he would rather return to Col. Minor than stay in the horrid jail; six are confined in a room 6 by 10; nearly all are sick with measles; they have had no change of clothing for three months; many, like John Davis, belonged to masters who had joined the Rebel army; others belonged to masters who had sent their sons; others still to those who supplied Rebels with provisions, clothing, or food; while others fled rather than go to work on the Manassas fortifications; some of these were from Virginia, others from Maryland; for example: Camille Jones, committed Oct. 24, was born in Charles County, Md., a slave of Philip Linton, once of Washington, now in the Rebel army; heard him say he wished Lincoln dead; hired her at \$7 a month; was taken up while ironing

at Mrs. Jackson's, by two men, who said they were instructed by her "boss" to take her to jail for safe keeping, as her sister had run away, and he was afraid she would; she has had two children, one sold South; does not know the whereabouts of the other, nine years old, who was hired out for victuals and clothes when old enough to wear, because he'd bring more. Edward Parker, committed Aug. 15, slave of John A. Washington, was raised at Mount Washington; left because ordered by the overseer to go to Manassas to wait upon master and Gen. Lee; had heard among the colored folks that negroes were taken to fight; thought he'd try the chances at the North; two of his master's slaves working on the Manassas intrenchments came to this city with the Fire Zouaves, and were arrested when trying to go to New York with them. John Courtee, committed Oct. 27, aged 20, living in Ann Arundel County, Md.; mistress gave him to her grandson-in-law, Gustavus Bird, minister, to work until 25, and then be freed; has been living with his father, Dr. Bird, in Ann Arundel County, Md., who employed his slaves in making up things to send to the Rebel army, and in helping Rebel officers who came to recruit; was seized by three men near the Navy Yard Bridge, who seemed to be on the watch, he was tied, after chasing with pistols and dogs, one of whom held him until the men came up. Richard Diggs was born in Prince George County, Md., 22 years old, has lived at Springfield Station, Fairfax Court House, Va., his master left Alexandria on the day the Zouaves entered the place; his master is a strong Secessionist, and he believes that he is in the rebel army; he went to visit his sister in Prince George County, and was arrested on the way; would rather be a free man and earn his own living than be a slave. Several of these slaves of Rebels subsequently took service with various regiments, and were in their employ or that of the Government when arrested; for instance: George Patrick Henry, committed Aug. 31, 21 years old, slave of Bailey Howard, Rebel of Alexandria; left him the night before the Zouaves came; his master the next day left for Fairfax. Henry became the Zouaves cook; he was near them at Bull Run, and had to dodge cannon balls; he intended to go to New York with them, but was stopped; he worked on Government mule pens a month, and was arrested one evening; he told the constable he was in the employ of the Government, and came from Virginia. James Jackson, committed Aug. 8, 33 years old, slave of Albert G. Minor, Fairfax County, Va., who is a Captain in the Rebel army, joined when the Zouaves entered Alexandria; James refused to go, although his master threatened to shoot him, and went to Col. Taylor, 2d New Jersey, to whom he acted as guide; he came to Washington with Col. Taylor's pass, and was arrested on his return.

Harriet Wilson, born in Richmond, between 50 and 60 years old, slave of Mrs. Archer, mother of ex-Senator Morton's wife, Fla.; she refused to go to Richmond with her mistress. Alfred Sayles, committed Sept. 28, 20 years old, born in Bladensburg, was the slave of Harry Warren, who, at his death freed him. The sheriff who administered the estate, said he must work a year longer; he did so, when the sheriff said he must work two years more, and kept working him until at last he whipped him so that he ran away. Wm. Cole, committed July 28, 21 years old, belonged to Anna Harding of Northumberland County, Va.; she is a violent Secessionist, and compelled her son, under age, to join the Southern army; he was hired to a Secessionist, whose two sons were about starting for the Rebel army, and going to take Cole along, who preferred to run away oystering on the Potomac; he was brought up to the city by a pilot, and put in jail; he suffers from the cold, having only one suit of summer clothing; he has not had half enough to eat, and wants freedom, and the chance to work.—Tribune, Dec. 5.

LABOR AS A SOURCE OF WEALTH AND STRENGTH.

[From the Evening Post.]

It is the abundance of labor which makes a country rich and formidable. We boast of our thirty millions; but Great Britain subsists an equal number on one twenty-fifth of our area—and on lands which have been under cultivation more centuries than ours have decades. If it had not been for her dense population, England could never have carried on those great continental wars which have given her the foremost place among European nations. If her population had been as thin as ours, according to area, a single campaign against Napoleon would have made her bankrupt, and her great enemy would have overrun her with ease.

The relations of population to the ability to support war have not yet been considered with us; our actual numbers are so great, and our means of concentration by rivers and railroads so complete, that to repel an invader will never embarrass us; but it is as well to remember that even with our present population of this Union destroyed, and our people divided into several independent nations, we should find it no joke to support such wars as those which desolated Europe and made England great at the beginning of this century. Much less, either for success in war or for prosperity in peace, can we spare those four millions of workers whom some faint hearts think of putting away.

Consider for a moment the comparative destiny of population in various nations. In 1850, the United States and territories had seven and nine-tenths to the square mile; and only one great empire, Brasil—also a slaveholding

nation—has less. Even poor Mexico has more inhabitants to the square mile than we; and when we come to European nations, the difference is extraordinary. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland had, ten years ago, over 225 to the square mile; England alone, 332; France, 172; Austria, 141; Prussia, 151; Belgium, 388; Holland, 259; Switzerland, 160; Spain, 78; and even Russia, that vast territory, has four times as dense a population as ours—namely, over 28 to the square mile.

There are men at the North who use as a pretext for opposing the liberation of slaves the plea that, when the black men are freed, they will rush hither and engage in competition with our own working men. But labor, like gold, follows the greatest demand, and the Southern States are by long odds the most sparsely supplied. There is a pressing demand for labor there, which Mr. Yancey and his fellow-conspirators hoped to satisfy by slave importations from Africa. They have found that free labor refuses to be employed by contact with slaves; though they know that for years past, free black men have worked shoulder to shoulder with free white men on the levees of New Orleans and in the holds of cotton ships in Mobile bay, as they do on the wharves and in the stores of New York and Boston—neither objecting to the other.

Comparing the density of population in some free and slave States, we find that free Pennsylvania, on an area of 46,000 square miles, has a population of 2,906,370, and slave Virginia, on an area of 81,352 square miles, over one-third more, has only 1,596,083 inhabitants. New York, on an area of 47,000 square miles, has 3,887,542 persons while Georgia, on an area of 58,000 square miles, has but 1,057,327 persons. Alabama, with an area of 50,722 square miles, has a population of but 964,296 persons; while Indiana, with an area of but 33,809 square miles, has a population of 1,350,479—and still in Indiana the great cry is for labor, and the State naturalization laws have been purposely made most liberal, to draw foreign immigrants thither. Massachusetts, on an area of only 7,800 square miles, supports 1,231,065 persons, while South Carolina, with an area of 29,385 square miles, more than three times greater, has only 703,812 persons. A glance at the census tables will show that there is not one of the Southern States but suffers from under population, and to a degree which would be thought fatal to their prosperity by the people of a Northern State.

We should, therefore, closely scrutinize any schemes which would in effect rob these suffering States, of what they most lack already—their laborers. Georgia has now a population of little over eighteen to the square mile; but exile her black people, and she would be left with but ten to the square mile. South Carolina has now less than twenty-five to the square mile, but without her negroes, she would have but ten and a third. Alabama has now less than fourteen to the square mile; but take away the black men who till her fields—and who would do it more thoroughly and more cheaply if free men, than as slaves—as the results in the British West Indies show—and she would have less than ten and a half to the square mile; while Indiana, equally an agricultural State, cries out for more workmen, with over forty to the square mile.

We are not of those who wish to impoverish and desolate the South. The great importance of the Union consists in this, that what tends to the true prosperity of one part benefits the whole, and what injures a part injures all in proportion. The climate and soil of the Southern States are sources of inexhaustible and limitless wealth if they are rightly used, and no part of the Union can afford that this section should be thrown away, or its development hopelessly checked. Men are not so plenty yet in the world that we can afford to exile nearly a seventh of our entire population. The South needs freemen to develop her immense resources, and when that comes to pass which is now imminent and was always inevitable: when her four millions of slaves are made freemen, the prospect of cheap lands and a delicious climate will allure thither, very quickly, the thousands of laboring men who are now repelled from her soil by the curse of slavery, and are forced to seek homes in the cold and distant Northwest.

No one will object to the voluntary departure of any class of men from our borders; it is the right of all free persons to go where they please; and for the negroes it would, doubtless, be a great benefit to escape the prejudice of caste under which they suffer in this country. Among people of their race, in the West India Islands, their own prospects and those of their children would be immensely improved. They cannot expect here, where the very instance of slavery has fixed a stigma upon their color, to enjoy, for years to come, the rights and the consideration which there they might enjoy at once.* But it is not for our material or moral interests that they should depart, and plans for their forcible deportation—could they be proved practicable—would still require the gravest discussion before they were enacted.

* The "stigma" would not long survive the abolition of slavery. *Ed. Principia.*

We have been intending, for some time past, to discuss the subject embraced in the following article, which expresses our own views so fully that, for the present, we need add nothing to the argument. It is from the pen of a

pioneer abolitionist, Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, one of the Secretaries of the American Missionary Association.

NO COMPROMISE BY COMPENSATION TO SLAVEHOLDERS.

The expedient of allowing compensation to slaveholders, on the abolition of slavery by the General Government, has hitherto been advocated but by a fraction of the abolitionists of our country, and with the prestige which Great Britain has gained by the Emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves she has not secured the conviction of American Abolitionists that her generosity to slaveholders and their underwriters was consistent with justice to the uncompensated freed men who had been robbed by them, nor to those who were taxed to compensate enormities. Nor have they believed that that compensation, falsely regarded as commercially expedient, was safe to law, morality, and an abiding abhorrence of the claim of property in man, throughout the British Empire and the world.

I affirm the equity, duty, and policy of compensation on the abolition of slavery by our Government, not to the slaveholders *but to the emancipated slaves*, in view of their immeasurable wrongs and the robbery of their earnings from generation to generation, by the slaveholders.*

If any one, on the ground of merely commercial justice doubts this obligation, let him examine the question of the relative value of all the improved land of this country, and of labor, at seventy-five cents per day, and he will find that the value of six years labor exceeds that of the entire land. The balance in favor of labor is relatively much greater at the South than in the Free States, the land being of far less price than in the free states. The slaves have paid for the lands of their masters, many times, by their labor, and have a higher title to them and their other property, which is the result of their unpaid toil, than any other class of persons have to property acquired by the voluntary payment of its true valuation.

If the grand idea of Civil Government is that of the protection of the persons and varied rights of its subjects, then has our Government not only an obligation resting upon it to emancipate all the slaves, but to see that they have a compensation which is "just an equal." If the masters should be allowed to plead damages they would be immeasurably cancelled by the damages sustained by the slave at their hands.

Should Government, however, simply emancipate the slave, and, reversing the order of equity, leave him to his own exertions, only cleared from the chattel state in which by violence he and his family have been held, and pay a valuation of the slave to the master-robber by the influence of such a reversal of equity, the sense of right, and of the atrocity of slaveholding would thereby be most effectually abated in the public mind. Say what we may, it would be but a public acknowledgment that the highest crime committed against man, and against the idea of Government itself, ought to be respected; and that the perpetrators of the acme of villainy ought to be treated with the consideration due to just men, and infinitely more than due to their victims, the slaves. Can those who propose to government to compensate slaveholders on declaring their victims free men, shew that such action has not a tendency to debauch the public mind in regard to all the principles of equity and justice, that is not opposed to all jurisprudence, and is not an insidious method of educating the people to overthrow the first principles of our Government, the rights of man, and consequently of the Government itself?

I object to the proposed compensation to slaveholders at this time, when not only the Rebellion is to be regarded in its great criminality, but the hideous conspiracy against human nature of which slaveholders are guilty, and which is the basis of the rebellion, must be abhorred, and instead of the sense of its enormity being lessened by any commercial jugglery for buying off such treason to humanity and to Government, every word, eye, and measure, should be such as to sharpen the ire of the nation against it—and thus make its sword two-edged to put down the rebellion. The interests of the country in the time of our conflict require that slavery, as an outlaw, should die the death due to the monster and its carcass be thrown to the flame.

Again, I object to the proposition of compensation to slaveholders now, for the reason that while we affirm that

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slavery is the cause and animus of the rebellion, and must be crushed to put it down; we do, by presenting the motive of compensation, virtually concede to the rebels, that we have not the power to do it without a "COMPROMISE OF COMPENSATION."

If the proposition should be only for the so called, loyal slaveholders, † we should, for the same reason, as a matter connected with war, oppose it as being an acknowledgment that they have the nation in their power, which practically has been for months acknowledged by the Government, by refusing emancipation on their account, and thus is more potent against us than the whole army of the professed rebels.

If it be said that under other circumstances, in time of peace the people of the free states ought to be taxed to compensate slaveholders, in case of emancipation, on the presumption that we have gotten our wealth by their slaveholding, I deny the presumption. They had the opportunity to make themselves rich by the abolition of slavery, generations ago, and thereby our wealth with theirs would have been vastly enhanced, but slavery has relatively been a dead weight on our prosperity. The cost of the war to us, which they caused, and now prosecute, with the loss of labor, products and business, in one year, is greater than all their slaves would bring in their own markets should peace be secured: and this loss we never shall recover, except it be in a series of years by the advantages which we shall secure in common with the South from universal freedom and free labor.

The argument that the North, having sustained slavery at the South, is therefore bound to compensate the slaveholders, does not follow; but both the slaveholders, and ourselves, if penitent men, will feel bound to do what we can for the emancipated, to whom compensation will be due.

It has often been said that each slave state is abundantly able to compensate its slaveholders by the rise of its land alone, upon emancipation, if disposed to do so, but in such case it could be laid upon their slaveholders, who have both lands and slaves, by assessment, to equalize and meet the case of those who have no lands at all—for surely the non-slaveholders who have been crushed in all their interests by slavery, have nothing rightfully at the command of the slaveholders; and as the property of non-slaveholders would be enhanced in value by emancipation, it would be their right to reap the advantage as some compensation for losses for generations inflicted upon them by slaveholders.

It is evident that the slaveholders have lands enough among themselves to meet all their losses by any system of assessment which they might make for mutual interest or compensation—and would then set in motion a new system, one of free labor, and the South yet became a cultivated garden, and filled with wealth.

Let not the friends of freedom, so justly jealous of compromises, fall into the snare of proposing a "COMPROMISE BY COMPENSATION" to slaveholders, unnecessary as it is in any event injurious in its moral bearing, and in the highest sense impolitic, with the Rebellion on hand to be put down.

There is relief in the fact that under the providence of God events are pressing the nation to put down slavery, and that their reach is such as not to leave one stone of its accursed structure not thrown down.

* Moses Brown of Rhode Island, on emancipating his slaves, calculated their wages for years past, and settled them on lands, and erected comfortable houses for them, as their due.

† Would Washington who gave freedom to all his slaves by will, and Jefferson who could not find one attribute of the Almighty in our behalf in a conflict with slaves asserting their freedom, in the present struggle for national existence, admit, for a moment, the loyalty of any persistent slaveholder.

PROCLAMATION OF GEN. PHELPS.

The following is the Proclamation issued by General Phelps:

HEADQUARTERS MIDDLESEX BRIGADE, }
SHIP ISLAND, Mississippi, Dec. 4, 1861. }
To the loyal citizens of the Southwest.

Without any desire of my own, but contrary to my private inclinations, I again find myself among you as a military officer of the Government. A proper respect for my fellow-countrymen renders it not out of place that I should make known to you the motives and principles by which my command will be governed.

We believe that every State that has been admitted as a slave State into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution, has been admitted in direct violation of our Constitution.

We believe that the slave States which existed, as such at the adoption of our Constitution, are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery.

It is our conviction that monopolies are as destructive as competition is conservative of the principles and vitalities of republican government; that slave labor is a monopoly which excludes free labor and competition; that slaves are kept in comparative idleness and ease in a fertile half of our arable national territory, while free white laborers constantly augmenting in numbers from Europe, are confined to the other half, and are often distressed by want; that the free labor of the North has more need of expansion into the Southern States, from which it is virtually excluded, than slavery had into Texas in 1846; that free labor is essential to free institutions; that these institutions are naturally better adapted and more congenial to the Anglo-Saxon race than are the despotic tendencies of slavery; and, finally, that the dominant political principles of this North-American Continent, so long as the Caucasian race continues to flow in upon us from Europe, must needs be that of free institutions and free government. Any obstructions to that form of government in the United States must inevitably be attended with discord and war.

Slavery, from the condition of a universally recognized social and moral evil, has become at length a political institution demanding political recognition. It demands rights to the expulsion of those rights which are insured to us by the Constitution; and we must choose between them which we will have, for we cannot have both. The Constitution was made for freemen, not for slaves. Slavery, as a social evil, might for a time be tolerated and endured; but as a political institution, it becomes imperious and exacting, controlling, like a dread necessity, all whom circumstances have compelled to live under its sway, hampering their action, and thus impeding our national progress. As a political institution, it could exist as a coordinate part only of two forms of government, viz., the despotic and the free; and it could exist under a free government only when public sentiment, in the most unrestricted exercise of a robust freedom, leading to extravagance and licentiousness, had swayed the thoughts and habits of the people beyond the bounds and limits of their own moderate constitutional provisions. It could exist under a free government only where the people, in a period of unreasoning extravagance, had permitted popular clamor to overcome public reason and had attempted the impossibility of setting up permanently, as a political institution, a social evil which is opposed to moral law.

By reverting to the history of the past, we find that one of the most destructive wars on record—that of the French Revolution—was originated by the attempt to give political character to an institution which was not susceptible of political character. The Church, by being endowed with political power, with its convents, its schools, its immense landed wealth, its associations, secret and open, became the ruling power of the State, and thus occasioned a war of more strife and bloodshed, probably, than any other war which has desolated the earth.

Slavery is still less susceptible of political character than was the Church. It is as fit at this moment for the lumber-room of the past as were, in 1793, the landed wealth, the exclusive privilege, etc., of the Catholic Church in France.

It behoves us to consider, as a self-governing people, bred and reared and practiced in the habits of self-government whether we cannot, whether we ought not to revolutionize Slavery out of existence, without the necessity of a conflict of arms like that of the French Revolution.

Indeed, we feel assured that the moment slavery is abolished, from that moment our Southern brethren, every ten of whom have probably seven relations in the North, would begin to emerge from a hateful delirium. From that moment, relieved from imaginary terrors, their days become happy and their nights peaceful and free from alarm; the aggregate amount of labor, under the new stimulus of fair competition, becomes greater, day by day; property rises in value; invigorating influences succeed to stagnation, degeneracy, and decay; and union, harmony, and peace, to which we have so long been strangers, become restored, and bind us again in the bonds of friendship and amity, as when we first began our national career under our glorious government of 1789.

Why do the leaders of the rebellion seek to change the form of your ancient Government? Is it because the growth of the African element of your population has come at length to render a change necessary? Will you permit the free Government under which you have thus far lived, and which is so well suited for the development of true manhood, to be altered to a narrow and belittling despotism in order to adapt it to the necessities of ignorant slaves, and the requirements of their proud and aristocratic owners? Will the laboring men of the South bend their necks to the same yoke that is suited to the slave? We think not. We may safely answer that the time has not yet arrived when our Southern brethren, for the mere sake of keeping Africans in Slavery, will abandon their long-cherished Free Institutions, and become slaves themselves.

It is the conviction of my command, as a part of the national forces of the United States, that labor—manual labor—is inherently noble; that it cannot be systematically degraded by

any nation without ruining its peace, happiness, and power; that free labor is the granite basis on which Free Institutions must rest; that it is the right, the capital, the inheritance, the hope of the poor man everywhere; that it is especially the right of five millions of our fellow-countrymen in the Slave States as well as of the four millions of Africans there; and all our efforts, therefore, however small or great, whether directed against the interference of Governments from abroad, or against rebellious combinations at home, shall be for Free Labor. Our motto and our standard shall be, here and everywhere, and on all occasions, FREE LABOR AND WORKINGMEN'S RIGHTS. It is on this basis, and this basis alone, that our inefficient Government, the asylum of nations, can be perpetuated and preserved.

J. W. PHELPS,
Brigadier-General of Volunteers, Commanding.

THE MASON AND SLIDELL CONTROVERSY.

[From the Evening Post.]

It is curious to remark the difficulty which the law officers of the Crown have to discover any legal accusation against us. They do not appear to object to the substance of the arrest, but to the form. They seem to admit the right of search and visitation; but they hold that the vessel herself, if guilty of impropriety, ought to have been carried into port for an adjudication of the case in a prize court. Capt. Wilkes did not do too much, but too little. His forbearance in not claiming his prize, and in allowing innocent passengers to proceed on their voyage, constitute the gist of his offence. He should not have taken four of the travellers from her decks, but he ought to have taken all the passengers with the decks. Thus we interpret the announcement of the *Times* of the 28th: "It is, we understand, the opinion of these jurists that the right of the Federal Government, acting by its officers, was confined to the visiting and the searching of the mail packet; that if any men or things, believed to be contraband of war, had been found on board of her, the proper course was to take her into port and submit the question to the Prize Court, which would hear evidence and argument on both sides, and would have decided the case according to precedent and authorities." The error of Capt. Wilkes was, as our able Secretary of the Navy had previously intimated, in not perfecting his right, and so making a case for the courts, instead of a case for the governments.

If that be the ground which this ministry takes, it is very easily disposed of: our government has only to say that it is sorry Captain Wilkes failed to do his whole duty. But it will remind the British government that this failure arose from a courteous and friendly intention, and not in the exercise of any undue or high-handed authority. Our gallant commodore, in the excess of his frankness and good nature, relinquished his hold upon the large Mexican remittance in the Trent in order to do a service to the steamship company, and to show that his object was not to insult the British, but purely to protect his country from the foreign machinations of an infamous knot of conspirators. Surely no nation, unless it is bent upon war at any hazard, will construe an act of forbearance and courtesy into an infraction of international law, and ask an apology for a friendly bow of the head, when we might rightly have given a kick.

* * * * *

Now, it may be remarked that a prize court could have decided only on the question whether the Trent and her cargo had by certain acts become a legal prize to the San Jacinto. The court might have condemned her, or it might have released her, and awarded certain damages for detention to the owner of vessel and cargo. But whatever may be the decision of the court it could not have affected the condition of the rebel emissaries, who, being once in an American port, would have been dealt with precisely as they have been since their arrest by the San Jacinto.

Nor could the owners of the Trent or the British government demand of a prize court the restoration of these persons. They are not goods or property; the Trent's owners have no interest in them, further than the due collection of their passage money; and the British government cannot claim them as its subjects, which they are not. Great Britain has no interest in them.

Thus it appears that the act of Captain Wilkes does not change the *status* of the affair in the slightest degree. Had he captured the Trent, Mason and Slidell would have been just where they are now; and negotiations concerning them would have had to begin and go on precisely as now. The adjudication of a prize court on the legality of the capture of the vessel and cargo would have been a separate question; and, so far from Captain Wilkes's course having been blunder, complicating the affair, it seems to us to have been a stroke of clear common sense, by which he has disengaged the important point in question, of all minor and side issues.

According to strict law and red tape he might have put a number of passengers to a great deal of trouble and vexation, detained an important mail for at least a week, and put money in his own pockets, all in the regularly appointed and authorized way of capturing an enemy. But he wanted only the enemies of his country, and he put nobody else to trouble or loss. This may shock red tape bound officers in Downing street; it may be a convenient excuse on which to force hostilities against the United States; but it cannot fail to appeal favorably to English as well as American common sense.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1861.

LETTERS on business for the *Principia* should be addressed to M. B. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

LETTERS for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for the public, should be addressed to WILLIAM GOODELL.

ORDERS for books or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

But in all cases, the *business* matter should be on a slip of paper separate from suggestions or communications for the Editor—because business papers must be kept on the Publisher's file by themselves. For the same reason, what is designed for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and matter designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

All letters for us should be carefully directed to 339 Pearl street, *not* to 48 Beekman street, nor to Box 1212, (the former address of Wm. Goodell, where some of his letters continue to be sent.) This is the more important *now*, as the office of our friends, is now removed; and letters directed there will be liable to be lost.

WORK FOR ABOLITIONISTS—NECESSITIES AND ENCOURAGEMENTS FOR ACTION.

Never has there been a time when the labors of Abolitionists were so much needed as at present. Never has there been a time when abolitionists were as much respected, and as high in favor with the community, as at present. Never has there been a time in which their strongest and most radical utterances, both of principles and measures, were as readily received by the people, as at present.

Yet, strange to tell, never has there been a time when abolitionists were so inactive, so little disposed to put forth efforts, so much inclined to settle down into quietude, and let everything take its own course. "The harvest, truly is great, and the laborers are few." Let us look at each of these facts in detail.

I. *The labors of abolitionists were never before so much needed.*

Until recently, the great difficulty has been to arrest the public attention. Now that attention is fixed to the subject, and cannot be withdrawn. Until recently, the few who did listen to them, listened with prejudice, but that prejudice is now greatly relaxed.

The efforts of abolitionists were never before so important as now, because, in the providence of God, the country is in a position, not only to receive their teachings as true, but under a necessity to put them in practice, as means of self-preservation and self-defence. And of this necessity the people, *when properly instructed*, are easily convinced, and are desirous of having their Government adopt corresponding measures. Now is the very time to diffuse light.

Though so much light has been elicited, it has yet reached but a very small portion of the people. Those who casually listened to them, years ago, have forgotten much that they heard. A new generation has come upon the stage of action, that has never heard them at all. Three-fourths of the people have heard of their principles and measures only by hearsay, through the slanders, misrepresentations, and caricatures of their enemies. The result is, that while the necessity of doing *something* is deeply and painfully felt, there are comparatively few who have any distinct ideas of what ought to be done, or how to do it. Simple as is the true remedy, it is, for that very reason, overlooked, just as is the true remedy for every other sin, individual or social.

Abolitionists in general, are not probably, aware of the degree of ignorance that still pervades the community. Vast numbers have indeed learned something, and are daily learning more of what slavery is, and of the mischiefs it has done and is doing, but this does not reveal to them as it should do, the true and safe way of getting rid of it.

The objections to immediate, unconditional and universal emancipation, need to be met and answered now, as they did, thirty years ago. The prevailing ignorance, even of historical facts, is still deep, dark, and dense. The "horrors of St. Domingo," are still confidently attributed to freedom instead of slavery! British Emancipation is still believed to have ruined the British West Indies! It is still believed that the emancipated negroes will not work, and that they are more degraded and miserable than in a state of slavery! Not only the illiterate portion of our people, but citizens of the highest standing, and in other respects intelligent, need to be disabused of these gross falsehoods!

Then, there is the fear that "the North would be overrun" with the emancipated slaves, unless they are colonized, and "what shall be done with them?" is a question that needs to be answered, at every street corner, and in almost every social circle. The most influential editors in our own central metropolis, betray the most pitiable ignorance on these and kindred topics. The Halls of Congress, the Cabinet, and even the Presidential mansion, send forth public documentary evidence and specimens of a "darkness that may be felt."

II. *Yet the common people are ready and even eager to be instructed.*

Announce the presence of a competent abolition lecturer and the house is crammed. As the speaker proceeds, the most radical abolition sentiments and measures receive the warmest, the most enthusiastic applause. Even this city, the very seat and center of pro-slavery influences, furnishes no exception. Witness the throngs that applaud Cheever, Sumner, Smith and Phillips. What is true in New York city, is true almost everywhere else, especially is it true in the rural villages and farming districts, and among mechanics and laboring men. The conservative clergy, and the corrupt politicians, with their ever attendant rabble, present almost the only obstacles in the way of general access to the people; and even these are giving way. To reach the people with abolition doctrines, measures, and arguments, is to carry whole villages and school districts by storm.

And there is no lack of men competent to lecture. To say nothing of orators like Cheever, Smith, Sumner and Phillips, whom few speakers, whether clergy or lawyers, may hope to equal, there are scores and hundreds able to give the requisite information, and who would be gladly received. Why then, are they not in the field? Why are not funds raised to sustain them? Why do not abolitionists exert themselves to extend the circulation of anti-slavery papers, tracts, pamphlets and books? Why is not "Thome and Kimball's Emancipation in the West Indies" reprinted and circulated, along with other standard works that are now needed? Every mail almost, brings us letters of inquiry, which can only be answered by pamphlets and books now out of print. Why are not abolition petitions circulated for signatures in every city, ward, village and school district? Why is not Congress already flooded with petitions signed by hundreds of thousands, and even millions? Why are not conventions held, and meetings in every county and township?

The only answer that can be given, is that abolitionists were never so inactive and listless as at present!

Can any body give a reason for this? Can any one tell us why this is so? What are the delusions that cripple and paralyze them?

In another paper, before long, we intend to examine these questions.

A HIGHER FIGHTING TEMPER NEEDED.

Under this head, the *N. Y. World* contrasts the "fighting temper" of the rebels with that of the loyalists, much to the disadvantage of the latter; and closes with the following:

"The old Achillean wrath against untrue men, the grim old Puritanic indignation against the workers of iniquity, has been gradually giving place to a sentimentality as impotent as it is passionless, till now we are not at all astonished to see Congress invoked by these modern philosophers, with their emasculated souls, to call in the black race to save the nation's flag from ruin, under the shameless plea of "military necessity." These influences must be thrown off. There is yet stamina enough in the yeomanry of the North to fight this battle triumphantly. But it has got to be stimulated—has got to be fired with passion—has got to recover something of the God-implanted rage against the destroyers of good. We need not, we must not, imitate these traitors in their low malignity; but there is a high, sacred vehemence which we must have, that we do not yet possess—an ardor that shall not blench in the encounter, though the field run with blood, and the slain are counted by tens of thousands. This is the only true heroism; and without it there is no just hope of triumph."

We think we can tell the *World* how the defect it deplores can be supplied. The "old Puritanic indignation against the workers of iniquity," must be directed against the enslavers of human beings, the practice that has culminated in rebellion against the Government that wickedly and

weakly tolerates it. Make the war a war against *slavery*, the core of the rebellion, and then, not before, will it be, in reality, and in earnest, a war against the rebellion itself. This is the "fighting temper" now needed. "The God-implanted [anger] against the destroyers of good" will be found to include anger against slaveholding. Proclaim a war "for the rights of human nature" as our fathers did. Kindle the beacon fires of human liberty. Declare deliverance to the oppressed, as God and nature command. "Call in the black race" not as a "military necessity" merely, but to help right their own wrongs, while righting ours. "This is the true heroism, and without it there is no hope of triumph."

QUESTIONS FOR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

Ought the Government to permit its policy to be shaped by "loyal slaveholders" whose loyalty is conditioned on the continued protection of slavery?

Has not the policy of the Administration, thus far, been thus shaped?

Is it not owing to this fact, that the Government has been so inefficient and unsuccessful?

Are not the people, generally, in the loyal states, dissatisfied with this condition of things? Ought not this imbecile policy to be abandoned?

Is it not the duty of Congress to inaugurate the change? Do not their constituents expect it of them?

How, or by what measures, shall the necessary change be effected?

EMBARRASSMENTS!—Mr. Steele of N. Y., in the House of Representatives, said,

"We know that the army has been embarrassed with these runaway fugitives, and shall we pour upon them the whole four millions at once, without any provision whatever having been made for their ultimate treatment?"

"We know" no such thing. "We know" that Gen. Butler and Gen. Wool have received important, if not indispensable aid from them, insomuch that the Government is paying them wages to retain them.

If Mr. Steele had said that some inconvenience occurs, by the presence of children who are too young to labor, and of more females than are needed, the plain reason and ready answer is that this inconvenience arises from a *partial* instead of a *general* emancipation, which should free all the slaves, on the soil, calling into the army and forts only such as are needed and can be made useful.

Opposers are always urging as "embarrassments" the effects of gradual and partial measures, as apprenticeship in the West Indies, &c. As soon as full and universal liberation is proclaimed, the "embarrassments" always cease. Mr. Steele reminds us of the Hibernian who objected to feather beds, by declaring that his bones ached from lying down on a rock, with a handful of feathers under him.

UNGEMEROUS!—VIOLATIONS OF PRO-SLAVERY "CONSCIENCES."—In deprecating the course of those in the House of Representatives who favored emancipation, Mr. Steele of N. Y. said,

"If then, it is unnecessary, it is ungenerous for the responsible majority of this House to force continually upon us the necessity of seeming to go against our country, or else of voting against our consciences."

There is nothing "ungenerous" in fining and imprisoning men for assisting fugitive slaves—no infringement of their rights of conscience in this. But an act to execute justice for the oppressed, would injure the tender consciences of pro-slavery men!

BEHIND THE REBEL LINES!—*The World* thinks it an objection to the plan of proclaiming emancipation, that the slaves are "behind the rebel lines." Where would it have them? Before the rebel muskets, to be shot down by them?—Or does *The World* imagine that no news of the Proclamation could get to the slaves without going through the rebel lines? There are thousands of loyal non-slaveholding whites "behind the rebel lines" who, as well as the blacks, would hail with joy the Proclamation of the downfall of slavery.

Would the *World* object to having an army of them "behind the lines" of the enemy? What could it desire better than to have the rebels surrounded—between two fires?—

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Pity that we should be in danger of having friends "behind the rebel lines"—truly!

Such is the military and political strategy of those who demur against a proclamation of national freedom, and deride the abolitionists as lunatics and mad men!

SHALL WE HAVE WAR WITH ENGLAND?

The worldly minded man does not realize that "God moves in a mysterious way," in his government of the world. It may be in His purpose to teach this Government and nation that His commands are the first in order for their obedience, and that no skillful diplomacy can shield from His judgments, if His command, Let my people go, be not obeyed. It is not the threatenings of the great and powerful nation that are to be feared, but it is the voice of God that should be our fear. "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." If one judgment is not enough, who knoweth what may be next, or "the end thereof?" Wo be to those rulers and that people who trample on the laws of God, and heed not His judgments.

S. W.

"Cash paid for Confederate Bonds at 25 Ann Street,"—is an advertisement posted on most of the curb-stones in this city. On inquiry, it turns out that the advertisement was by "STOCKWELL & EMERSON," paper dealers at the place designated, who "pay cash for old newspapers, pamphlets, and old paper of all descriptions" not excepting "Confederate Bonds" at two cents per pound. A pretty good hit.

CORRECTION. In the "Thanksgiving Rhymes" in our last paper, the third line of the seventh stanza should read—"Who gave me food and dresses warm."

FOUR LEADING ITEMS, this week:—the burning of Charleston—the threatening aspect of England—the bill of Senator Wilson for abolishing slavery in the Federal District—and the Proclamation of Gen. Phelps in Mississippi.—Excitement enough for one week.

OUR RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.—There are doubtless two parties in England. The aristocratic party, including the cottonocracy who are pro-slavery; and the middle class party, including earnest christians and abolitionists.—The latter are the natural allies of the United States, in the present controversy, as the former are, of the Confederate Oligarchy.

Had the North and the Administration made open war upon slavery, as they should have done, it would have so strengthened our friends in England, that their Government could never have come under the control of our enemies.—As it is, the issue is somewhat doubtful. A Proclamation of universal freedom, even now, might turn the scale in our favor.

News of the Day.

SATURDAY, DEC. 14.

Fort Pickens.—It now appears that Bragg never breached the Fort, never captured it—never stormed it, engaging Brown in front and attacking him in the rear—all of which things we were told he had done; and that if, as the Pensacola *Observer* thought, Brown and all his Yankees were drunk, they were at least sober enough to chastise pretty effectually the rebel braggarts, and stun them into silence. Two of our vessels also engaged Fort McRae, which Col. Brown had hoped to capture; but, on account of their draft of water, they were unable to achieve their purpose. In the meantime, the rebels replied as well as they could. But though they had all their preparations for assault completed—though they had ten regiments of men against our 1,600 soldiers—though they had a hundred and fifty guns of the heaviest calibre, protected by bomb-proof forts and earthworks, they were able to effect almost nothing.—*Times*.

Confiscation.—The following resolutions were introduced in the Senate, on Wednesday, by Mr. Morrill:

JOINT RESOLUTIONS to Provide for the Confiscation of the Property of Rebels or Insurgents, and to Satisfy the Just Claims of Loyal Persons therefrom.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, That the real and personal estate whereof any person or persons is seized or possessed who shall, during the present rebellion or insurrection against the Government of the United States, after

the President of the United States shall have declared, by proclamation, that the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, and shall have commanded the rebels or insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, engage in promoting said rebellion or insurrection, or in aiding or abetting the same, or who shall conspire, with others, to overthrow, put down, or destroy, by force, the Government of the United States, or by force to oppose its authority, unless such persons are compelled thereto, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be deemed and adjudged, and hereby is declared to be vested in the United States, without any inquisition to be taken, and any and all claim or right of such person to the labor or service of any other person or persons, under the laws or usages of any State or Territory shall be, and hereby is, declared to be annulled, any law or usage of any State or Territory or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding.

Resolved, That it shall be, and hereby is, made the duty of the President of the United States, when in any case he shall have declared by proclamation, as aforesaid, any State, District, or Territory to be in rebellion or insurrection, to cause the property, real and personal, of whatever description and kind, recognized as property at common law, of any such person or persons as are described in the aforesaid resolution, resident in said State, District, or Territory, to be seized, confiscated, and condemned, and due proceedings therefore instituted in the District or Circuit Court of the United States, or in admiralty in any district, in which the same was seized, or into which the same may be taken, to vest the title and actual custody thereof in the United States; and to cause all property so vested in the United States to be sold, loaned, leased, or otherwise disposed of, and out of the sales, rents, and proceeds thereof, to cause payment and satisfaction to be made of such sums of money as shall be justly due any claimant of the same as indemnity for loss of property or estate, or loss of persons held to labor or service, by seizure, distribution, confiscation, or otherwise, by persons or States in arms against the authority of the United States, such persons so claiming having been and remaining true and constant in their allegiance to the United States; and in the execution of the premises, the Courts may proceed, in virtue of the power herein granted, in such summary way as may be deemed most expedient and just to all parties; and shall also declare, by proclamation, that all claim or right of such persons to the labor or service of any other person held to service or labor by the laws or usages of any State or Territory, or of the United States, is for ever annulled, any law or usage of any State or Territory, or of the United States, to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Disposal of Negroes at Fort Monroe.—Some weeks since the following orders were issued by Gen. Wool in regard to the "contrabands" who had accumulated at Fortress Monroe. They provide, as will be seen, for setting them to work, on regular wages, which are low, but sufficient for their own support and that of the women and children, and others who cannot work, among them. I am told that besides paying their own way, they have accumulated a fund of over \$3,000, under the operation of this system.—*Times Cor.*

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT VIRGINIA, }
FORT MONROE, Oct. 13, 1861. }

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 72.—All colored persons called contrabands, employed as servants by officers and others residing within Fort Monroe, or outside of the Fort, at Camp Hamilton and Camp Butler, will be furnished with their subsistence, and at least eight dollars per month for males, and four dollars per month for females, by the officers or others employing them.

So much of the above-named sums, as may be necessary to furnish clothing, to be decided by the Chief Quartermaster of the Department, will be applied to that purpose, and the remainder will be paid into his hands to create a fund for the support of those contrabands who are unable to work for their own support.

All able-bodied colored persons who are under the protection of the troops of this Department, and who are not employed as servants, will be immediately put to work in either the Engineer's or Quartermaster's Department.

By command of Major-General Wool.
(Signed,) W. M. D. WHIPPLE,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT VIRGINIA, }
FORT MONROE, Nov. 1, 1861. }

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 34.—The following pay and allowances will constitute the valuation of the labor of the Contrabands at work in the Engineer, Ordnance, Quartermaster, Commissary, and Medical Departments at this post, to be paid as hereinafter mentioned.

Class 1st.—Negro men over eighteen years of age, and able bodied, ten dollars per month, one ration and the necessary amount of clothing.

Class 2d.—Negro boys from 12 to 18 years of age, and sickly and infirm negro men, five dollars per month, one ration and the necessary amount of clothing.

The Quartermaster will furnish all the clothing. The Departments employing these men will furnish the subsistence specified above, and as an incentive to good behaviour (to be withheld at the direction of the Chiefs of the Department respectively,) each individual of the first class

will receive \$2 per month, and each individual of the second class, \$1 per month, for their own use. The remainder of the money valuation of their labor will be turned over to the Quartermaster, who will deduct from it the cost of the clothing issued; the balance will constitute a fund to be expended by the Quartermaster under the direction of the commanding officer of the Department of Virginia for the support of the women and children, and those that are unable to work.

For any unusual amount of labor performed they may receive extra pay, varying in amount from fifty cents to one dollar, this to be paid by the Departments employing them, to the men themselves, and to be for their own use.

Should any man be prevented from working, on account of sickness, for six consecutive days, or ten days in any one month, one-half of the money value will be paid. For being prevented from laboring for a longer period than ten days in any one month all pay and allowances cease.

By command of Major-General Wool.

(Signed,) W. M. D. WHIPPLE,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

MONDAY, Dec. 16.

From Europe—Starling, if True.—By the arrival of the Europa at Halifax, and the City of Washington at Cape Race, we have English dates to the 2d and 5th instant respectively. An intense state of excitement pervaded the English public on the subject of the seizure of Mason and Slidell, and most of the papers were urging the Government to demand from our Government ample reparation for what was deemed an insult to the British flag. This was stated to be an apology and a restoration of the rebel ambassadors to the deck of a British man-of-war. The Cabinet held a meeting on Saturday, November 30, and received from the law officers of the crown their opinion of the matter. This was understood to be that, the right of the Federal Government, acting by its officers, was confined to the visiting and the searching of the mail packet; that if any men or thing believed to be contraband of war had been found on board of her, the proper course was to take her into port and submit the question to the prize courts, which would hear evidence and argument on both sides, and would have decided the case according to precedent and authorities. The result of the cabinet council is reported to be the sending of a special messenger to Lord Lyons, with instructions to demand an apology from the Federal Government, and a restitution to the protection of the British flag of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. Active preparations were making in the dock yards, and everything betokened a disposition to be ready for war, if it should come. Canada was also to be reinforced. The Queen has issued a proclamation forbidding the export of gunpowder and saltpetre, and also of nitrate of soda and brimstone. The London *Post*, the ministerial organ, says that the Government has in American waters a force amounting to nearly one thousand guns, and it can be largely increased in a short time. The French press is quite moderate, and expresses the conviction that a peaceful solution is not impossible, but the German press sympathize with England. The news from the continent is unimportant certainly, as compared with that from England.—*World*.

The tone of the press generally is violent and uncompromising; and little hope is expressed that the United States will make concessions. The London *Times* indeed, declares a war to be sought by Mr. Seward through this transaction; and a remark said to have been made by Gen. Scott, since his arrival at Paris, is cited as showing the insult to have been deliberately planned by the Washington Cabinet.—*Times*.

Charleston Destroyed by Fire.—Rumored Slave Insurrection.—The news from Charleston is fraught with intense interest. On the night of the 10th, or morning of the 11th, a fire broke out in the city, which spread rapidly until it became a general conflagration. Aided by a northeast wind it consumed the business portion, the very heart of the city, together with the Custom House, City Hall, Court House, and all the public buildings, and also the most important hotels, including the Mills House and Charleston Hotel, four or five of the largest churches, the large and extensive market, the theater, public halls, and hundreds of mercantile establishments, and elegant private residences. The offices of the Charleston *Mercury* and *Courier*, the most fervid secession papers in the South, were also burned. The best account is from the Captain of the steamer Illinois, from Port Royal. Passing Charleston at 10 o'clock on the night of the 12th, he reports a tremendous conflagration, apparently at its height, reddening the sky and sea far around and lighting up the walls of Sumter against the lurid heavens. It is rumored that the fire was the work of an incendiary in the person of a negro, and that a slave insurrection was in progress, and that the plot was disclosed by the body-servant of a military officer. This rumor spread the greatest consternation throughout the city, and families sought refuge within their houses, closing and barring the doors and windows, and taking every available precaution. It is also rumored that the slaves were rising in the interior of the State, according to a preconcerted plan, in a general insurrection. The dispatches also state that thousands of people were in the streets houseless and destitute, and supplies were being sent from the surrounding country for their relief.

Western Virginia.—We have this morning the gratifying intelligence of another Federal victory in Western Virginia. At daylight, on Friday, Gen. R. H. Milroy, with 750 Union troops, engaged Gen. Johnson, of Georgia, with a force of over 2,000 men, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the battle was concluded by the rebels firing their camp and retreating to Staunton. Gen. Johnson was shot in the mouth, and over 200 of his men were killed. Our loss was reported to be but 30.—*World.*

Missouri.—From Syracuse, Missouri, we learn that the Union troops in that vicinity, under Gen. Pope, are kept pretty actively employed in scouring the country; and as the rebels never know where they are going to strike, they are doing a good work in driving out the marauders. Gen. Price is represented as being on his last legs, his men leaving him in large numbers, and a brighter prospect is dawning upon the Union cause.—*Tribune.*

Port Royal.—From the same source we learn that on Wednesday last, when the Illinois left, all the Islands adjacent to Port Royal were occupied by our troops, and that they had succeeded in securing \$2,000,000 worth of cotton.—*Tribune.*

Fremont.—It is asserted by the friends of Fremont, that the Government is desirous to give him another command, which he refuses to accept, until he shall have had an opportunity to set himself right with the American public. Reports come to us, also, of certain special documents about to make their appearance, that are to completely change the current of public opinion, which has set so strongly against Fremont. At all events, we are speedily to have his own side of the story.—*Sun.*

Congress resumed its session yesterday, after an adjournment from last Thursday. Mr. King presented to the Senate a petition from the New York Chamber of Commerce, asking that the New York Assay Office have the privilege of coining, which was referred to the Finance Committee. A number of petitions for immediate emancipation of the slaves of Rebels were also presented. On motion of Mr. Hale the Committee on Military Affairs were requested to inquire into the expediency of providing a uniform manner for dealing with the slaves of the Rebels. Mr. Lane, of Indiana, offered a resolution that the Committee on the Judiciary be requested to provide by law, so that the aiders of treason may be prevented from bringing suits for the collection of debts in the courts of the United States, which was agreed to. A resolution was offered by Mr. Wilkinson expelling Jesse D. Bright from the Senate because of his disloyalty, as manifested in a letter written by him to Jefferson Davis last March. Mr. Bright made a few remarks, asking for investigation into all his acts, both public and private, after which the resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Trumbull called up the resolution asking the Secretary of State if persons had been arrested in the loyal States, and by what authority; upon which an animated debate ensued. Messrs. Trumbull, Hale, Kennedy, Latham, and Fessenden urged its passage, while Messrs. Dixon, Wilson, and Browning opposed it. On motion of Mr. Doolittle, it was finally referred to the Committee on the Judiciary by a vote of 25 to 17. A resolution appointing a committee to inquire into the escape of the privateer Sumter from Martinique was then adopted, and the Senate adjourned.

In the House there occurred a repetition of the scene of last Thursday between Messrs. Fouke and Conway. The latter alluded to the previous remarks of Mr. Fouke, and submitted it to the House whether they were not characteristic of a blackguard and scoundrel. Cries of order ensued, amid which Mr. Fouke was understood to say that Mr. Conway was a disgrace to the Union and humanity, and thus the disgraceful scene ended. The House then passed a bill to strike from the pension roll the names of all persons who have taken up arms against the government, or in any manner aided the rebellion. Mr. Vallandigham introduced a preamble and resolution to the effect that whereas the conduct of Captain Wilkes had been sustained by the House, and it had also urged the President to put Messrs. Mason and Slidell in close confinement, resolved that it is the duty of the President to maintain the stand thus taken, in spite of any menace or demand of the British government, in which course the House would pledge its support. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The consideration of the bill authorizing the raising of a volunteer force for the better defense of Kentucky was passed, after a debate thereon, in which Messrs. Lovejoy, Richardson, Wickliffe, Stevens, Durlap, Diven, Wright, Blair, Maynard, and others participated. On motion of Mr. Allen, it was resolved, the Senate concurring, to adjourn from Thursday next to the 6th of January.—*World.*

Slavery in the Federal District.—Mr. Wilson yesterday introduced into the Senate his bill for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The general provisions of the bill are, that slaves shall be free in the District; that three Commissioners shall be appointed to act on the claims of owners; that such claims, when substantiated, shall be allowed; to the

amount of \$300 for a single slave; that the Commissioners shall make a final report in nine months; and that \$1,000,000 shall be appropriated for the purpose named.—*Tribune.*

War News.—The steamship Constitution, which left Boston November 21st, with the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts, and the Ninth Connecticut regiments, composing a part of General Butler's division, arrived at Fortress Monroe on Saturday. The troops were landed on Ship Island, Mississippi, on the 4th inst., by some Rebel steamers captured by our fleet. A telegram from Baltimore states that Brigadier-General Phelps has issued a proclamation to the loyal citizens of the Southeast which is strongly anti-slavery in tone.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 18.

The Charleston Fire.—The loss is estimated at seven millions of dollars. The number of houses destroyed is 576, including five churches. It is believed that the city was set on fire by the slaves, and there is a rumor of slave insurrections in the interior.

In Kentucky there have been some recent skirmishes, and an important battle is expected.

In Missouri there are expectations of a great battle.

New Orleans.—There are rumors of a battle at New Orleans, but nothing definite is ascertained.

In Congress, little progress appears to have been made in business yesterday, though there were earnest debates. Mr. Harding, of Kentucky, opposed all action against slavery on constitutional grounds. Also,

He proceeded to show from copious extracts, that Congress, the President, and the Administration stand pledged, in the most solemn and public manner, against all interference with slavery—therefore, to sanction such a policy would be palpable violation of the plighted faith of this government.

Here comes the bitter fruits of the Republican platforms adopted at Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Yet it was lately proposed in a Caucus of the Republican members of Congress, to re-affirm those platforms—equivalent to a proposal to yield up the country to the Confederate Rebels.

Mr. Elliot's Emancipation Resolutions were referred to the Judiciary Committee.

THURSDAY, DEC. 19.

Foreign News.—The steamship Jura, from Liverpool and Londonderry on the 5th and 6th inst. respectively, arrived at Portland yesterday morning with foreign advices one day later than those previously received. The excitement in relation to the seizure of Mason and Slidell continued unabated, and public feeling was almost unanimous in considering it an insult to the British flag, for which ample reparation should be demanded.

A letter from Gen. Scott is published in the Paris papers, in which he declares that there is no truth in the report that the American cabinet had authorized the seizure of the Southern Commissioners, and expresses the conviction that war cannot take place between America and England without a more serious provocation has been given than the present one. It is announced in the Paris *Temps* that Napoleon has tendered his services to the British government. The same paper states that, in case our government refuses to give satisfaction, Lord Lyons is to be recalled, the Southern Confederacy recognized, and the blockade of the Southern ports raised. The Queen has issued a proclamation forbidding the export of arms, ammunition, military stores, and lead. Two British ships of war have been ordered to act as convoy to the English mail steamers of the West Indies. At a banquet given to Mr. Bright, at Rochdale, a letter was read from Mr. Cobden, in which he urged a suspension of judgment in the Mason and Slidell affair, and expressed his opinion that any interference by England in American affairs would only aggravate and protract the quarrel. Mr. Bright said that he did not doubt but that our Government would make proper reparation, if their legal advisers decided that the act of Capt. Wilkes could not be justified by law. He concluded by expressing his hearty sympathy for the North. An admiralty notice was issued, on the 5th instant, requiring all men on leave of absence to return to their respective ships. The steamship Persia has been chartered by the government, and a large number of troops are under orders to leave for Canada. The French press is quite reserved on the matter, and several Paris papers blame the English government for acting too hastily.

The news from the Continent is not important. Garibaldi had appeared in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, where the Roman and Neapolitan question was still under discussion.

Congress.—Petitions were presented to the Senate yesterday, for the establishment of a national armory on Burlington Island, New Jersey, and for the emancipation of slaves. A resolution asking the Secretary of War to furnish the Senate with a copy of Gen. Phelps's proclamation was laid over. Mr. Doolittle introduced a bill for the collection of direct taxes in the insurrectionary districts. It provides for taking the land in such districts to pay the direct tax; that the President shall, before the 22d of February next, make a

proclamation specifying what districts are in such insurrection, the owners to have power of redemption. Mr. Sumner offered a resolution that Trusten Polk, now a traitor to the United States, be expelled from the Senate, which was referred to the Committee on Judiciary. On motion of Mr. Wilson, the Military Committee were instructed to inquire if any legislation was necessary to correct the evils which now exist in the management of the military hospitals. The report of the Committee on the Judiciary on the contested seat of Senator Lane was recommitted; the report is that Mr. Stanton is entitled to the seat. The resolution offered by Mr. Sumner that the army shall not be used to surrender fugitive slaves was taken up, and, after a few remarks in favor of it by Mr. Sumner, and against it by Mr. Cowan, was passed. Mr. Latham's resolution asking the Secretary of State why passports were required from passengers going from New York to San Francisco, was also adopted.

The Committee on Elections reported to the House that Chas. H. Foster is not entitled to a seat in Congress either from the First or Second Congressional District of North Carolina; they were satisfied that his claim was founded on imposition, as was also Mr. Foster himself. The report was adopted. The Homestead bill was then taken up, and supported by Messrs. Holman, Covode, Edwards, Potter and Bingham, and opposed by Messrs. Vallandigham, Vandevere, Morrill, and Crittenden. Its further consideration was finally postponed until the first Monday in January, by a vote of 98 to 50. The bill for the appropriation of \$1,000,000 for gun-boats in the western waters was passed. The bill for the payment of invalid and other persons, was discussed in the committee on the whole, and after being amended so as to exempt all such persons as have in any way aided the rebellion, was passed. The House also passed the bill authorizing and requiring the Secretary of War to pay to the officers and men heretofore actually employed or mustered into service in the Western or Missouri Military Department, the pay and bounty as in regular enlistments. This covers the forces under General Fremont and other commanding generals. Mr. Steele offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the select committee on alleged abuses be requested to inquire as to the policy of abolishing charters, or regulating the system in accordance with the requirements and protection of the soldiers. Mr. Collax called up the abuse of the franking privilege, but no decisive action was taken.—*World.*

FRIDAY, DEC. 20.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' lecture, last evening, at the Cooper Institute, on the war, drew out a full audience, and his strongest anti-slavery utterances were enthusiastically cheered.—There was no disturbance, notwithstanding the Herald's week's work to rouse a mob.

It was announced that THEODORE TILTON would lecture on the same subject, at the same place, next Thursday Evening, and WM. LLOYD GARRISON one week afterwards.

Latest from England.—The latest English papers seem to have abated, somewhat, their war tone, and the prospects of an immediate war are less threatening.

The Independent has undergone an Editorial change. Rev. Drs. Bacon, Thompson, and Storrs retire, and are succeeded by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher—Dr. Leavitt and Theodore Tilton continue to occupy their old places, as usual.

Congress.—Mr. Sumner presented to the Senate yesterday, another lot of petitions for the emancipation of the slaves. Mr. Wade also presented a petition from the citizens of Ohio, asking that John C. Fremont be appointed a lieutenant-general. Mr. Willey offered a resolution that the existing war was forced upon the country by the States in rebellion, without provocation, which was designed to destroy the Union and Constitution, and their purpose was to disown and repudiate the fundamental principles of a Republican government, which he supported by an earnest speech. The resolution of the House to adjourn to the 6th of January was, after some discussion, laid on the table.

The House passed a resolution that the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the cost of the transportation of arms, ordnance, and munitions of war to that portion of the country west of the Alleghany since May last, and give, as far practicable, a detailed statement of the places from which they were transported, and the cost, and whether by rail or water. The bill to amend the act of July last, which grants one hundred dollars bounty to the soldiers at the expiration of two years, and to those sooner honorably discharged by reason of wounds and disabilities, so as to extend its provisions to those who entered the service under the first proclamation of the President, and were similarly disqualified, was, after some debate, laid on the table.—*World.*

War News.—A fight occurred near Point of Rocks yesterday morning, which resulted most favorably for the Federals. At ten o'clock a Rebel battery of three guns, flanked with about two hundred infantry, threw a number of shells into the encampment of Col. Geary's regiment, which was responded to by a brisk fire from the battery of the Twenty-eighth Regiment. At the first shot one of the Rebel guns was silenced, and subsequently all of them, and the Rebels were completely routed.

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They lost at least fourteen men, while our force escaped unharmed. After this the victory shelled some houses in the vicinity, in which about a hundred and fifty Rebels were secreted, driving them out with great loss.

From Missouri we learn that on Wednesday Gen. Pope, by a forced march, got between the forces of the enemy encamped six miles from Chilhowee, Johnson County, and 2,200 more in Clinton and Henry Counties, and they retreated on his approach, leaving their baggage, arms, ammunition, and papers on the ground. Gen. Pope sent a detachment in pursuit, which captured one hundred and fifty of them near Decoosa; other squads were also captured, in all about three hundred. Gen. Price has only 8,000 troops at Osceola.

A dispatch to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, from Somerset, Ky., states that Gen. Schoepf started with all his force at daylight on Wednesday, to attack the rebels under Zollicoffer. The latter was on Fishing Creek with 6,000 men and some artillery. Gen. Schoepf felt confident of a victory, and hoped to capture a large portion of the enemy's force. The Tennessee regiments were in the van of his column. We shall doubtless hear, to day, of the result of this movement.

Reports from the Upper Potomac state that considerable quiet exists along the river lines. Gen. Jackson was said to be at Falling Waters with a large force, but the statement was somewhat doubtful. Gen. Kelly is slowly advancing from Romney to Winchester.—*Ib.*

PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT.

To the President of the United States:—We, the undersigned inhabitants of ——, being anxious that this terrible war shall speedily terminate, and that it shall result in establishing permanent peace, and universal freedom, do most earnestly petition your Excellency to command the generals and other officers of our army, to proclaim protection to all loyal persons who flock to our banner, and to all able-bodied loyal men, who will volunteer for this work, North or South, without regard to any distinction of national descent or difference of complexion, and utterly disregarding all claims to human beings as property—and proclaim "liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

PETITION TO CONGRESS.

To the Hon. Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

The undersigned, citizens of —— respectfully petition that, in accordance with the declared objects of the Constitution, "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," to "the people of the United States" "and their posterity"—and, especially at the present time, to preserve the Constitution and the Union, by suppressing the rebellion, you will provide, by law, for calling on all the inhabitants of the United States, of all conditions, bond and free, to aid in the support of the Government, assured of its protection, under the flag of our national union and freedom—and for proclaiming "liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

"I herewith send you the price of the coming volume of the *Principia*. It is a treasure that I cannot afford to dispense with, especially at this juncture of our national crisis, when hopes and fears alternate rise, as to the event of our melancholy struggle to conquer a peace.

We need the unadulterated truth, such as the editor of the none-such *Principia* gives us. I therefore inclose \$1.00 for the coming volume, wishing its circulation increased ten thousand fold."

FROM OHIO.

"Your paper comes to this office. I see a stray number now and then. It seems like an oasis in the desert, after reading those milk and water 'Republican' and 'Peace Democrat' papers, which still indulge in the fond illusions of hope, yet it is natural for us to love the bold and outspoken. Thus, the name of FREMONT is so firmly fixed in the hearts of the American people. But it is useless. I stop, asking to be considered as doing an humble share in the great strike for Universal Liberty."

[We send our paper regularly to the writer of the above, and regret that he only gets a "stray number" of it.]

family Miscellany.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.—THE PROPHET.

BY MRS. HENRIETTA WELLINGTON BOATE.

You tell me of bright land far over the sea,
But ah! can you call it the land of the free?
Where the image of God, for a handful of gold—
Like a beast of the field, in the market is sold—
Where the child from the mother's fond bosom is torn,
Where the father is chained, leaving orphans forlorn—
Where the maiden is bartered like merchandise ware—
Then doomed to the lash, and the groan of despair!

Woe! woe to thee, fair land! far over the main;
For the cancer of death—dark slavery's stain—
Shall gnaw to thy vitals, while every sigh,
From the victims who writhe, mounts for justice on high;
And He, the great Lord of the universe wide,
Shall smite thee to earth in thy strength and thy pride:
For vengeance must fall for foul cruelties done

On the beings redeemed by His own beloved Son!

The sound of the war-drum shall thrill thee, at night,
As thy sons and thy brothers are borne to the fight;
The slave and the cotton shall stab thee with pain,
And the North and the South be divided in twain;
And brother against brother shall strike in the fight,
And battles be fought in the dead of the night,
And the white maid and widow in sorrow shall mourn,
And the flags of thy freedom in tatters be torn.
The North in her might, like a whirlwind shall rise,
And the notes of the cannon be borne to the skies,
And th' warm blood of Her Heroes be shed,
The light of Her Freedom shall never be dead;
The Stars and the Stripes, an Excelior shall be; or ne'er
Proud Liberty's banner by land and by sea;
And the Union though spurned by the slaveholder's scorn,
Shall be guarded by Northmen, for ages unborn.

* These lines were written in Europe, several years ago, in answer to a slave-owner's family, who invited the authoress to travel in South America.

For the *Principia*.

THE DIFFERENCE.

A Fragment.

And he was fair—his bold bright eye
Flashed back the azure of the sky;
And thrown from his proud brow, his hair
In golden waves played in the air;
He seemed the son of morning, she
Twilight's sad daughter, chained yet free;
And as we love that pensive hour
Yet at its close, unsighing spring,
And taste its sweets, and own its power,
Aside its mild enchanting fling,

New joys to greet, with mind refreshed,
New hopes to chase with keener zest;
So did he love her, she whose soul
Retained no part, but gave the whole,
To her he was the life-drawn day
When Hope dies with its parting ray.

FEAR NOT, FOR I AM WITH THEE;

BY ROSELIA B. STRICKLAND.

Fear not! though wild the winds and waves around thee,
Thy frail bark toss'd upon the sea of Life;
Though the tumultuous waters fast surround thee,
Fear not, for I am with thee, in the strife!

Fear not, though friends long trusted now betray thee—
Though where thou seekest aid thou findest scorn;
Let not unkindness nor disdain dismay thee,

For I am with thee till new hope be born.

Fear not! the world these many years of sorrow,
Hath from each night' awoke to sunlit day;
And look thou forward to a happier morrow,
For I am with thee, and will be alway.

Fear not! though cruel hands the ties disperse
Which bound thy heart to earthly joy and love;
Thy trials fit thee for that vast forever,
Where thou shalt reign with Me in Heaven above.

Fear not! though often thy o'erworn spirit
Is bent and worn by fierce temptation's blast;

Forget thou not the crown thou dost inherit,
For I am with thee, even to the last!

HASTINGS, N. Y., 1861.

For the *Principia*.

LOOKING IN AT THE WINDOWS.

They were child feet—and bare—and they looked piteously blue and cold—for no sunlight glanced upon the gray stones of the pavement where they fell, patiently, and with such a pleading eloquence. Suddenly they stood still.

A faded dress, a torn shawl—black, tangled locks, tumbling defiantly about, in the cool November wind—and the picture of this beggar girl is outlined for you. But only that, and nothing more. There are no warm tints in it—no deep, rich colorings—dull and gray and chill—yet a deep study—for there is a "writing on the wall."

A chapter of heart-life is lining itself out rapidly on that young face, pressing against the window pane. Greedily,

the large earnest eyes wander over that array of beautiful things, and the lips part a little in troubled surprise, that in the distribution of such treasures as these, she has always been left out. For our beggar girl is growing older.

Thoughts—great and sad, and strange, commence to come and go. She is beginning to hunger. One hand lies back lightly on the glad dreams of her childhood, and the other is already reaching forward to grasp their fulfilment in the coming fruition of girlhood. But the golden haze is melting away, and sombre clouds hang heavily instead. The hopes of brighter days are growing dim, and where once she looked in at the window, longingly and hopefully, she now gazes despairingly, and with a quiet sadness, very pitiful to see.

Thus, day by day, she wanders up and down the crowded street, looking in at the windows as she goes, wondering, wishing, sometimes even, faintly hoping, that in the far off future, the good Lord may remember her.

And so do we, all of us.—

Our poor humanity has ever sent forth one long, deep wail—one exceeding great and bitter cry—one pleading, earnest, impatient prayer—the war, the cry, the prayer for "more." It is the burden of the ages—the echoing sigh of the past.

Born first in the breast of Lucifer, it cost him his crown, and throne, and princely dominion among the angels. It quenched the light of many diadems, and peopled hell. It whispers in the ear of the woman—Eden is lost—the flaming sword which turneth every whither, "must keep the way of the tree of life," and the death warrant of our Lord Christ is sealed. Still it rolls and surges resistlessly downward; each generation in turn catching the sad candle, and throwing the supplicating agony over upon the ear of its successor.

And we, poor children of to-day, are chanting mournfully, tearfully, the same refrain—rich and poor—high and low, needy and needless together—we carry different parts perhaps—there are the tremulous tones of the aged, and the voices of the young—the rich bass notes of middle life—and the thrilling minor strains which breaking hearts know how to sing, but the chording is sure and strong, the harmony lacks nothing of completeness.

And so we go, as did the beggar girl, wishing, and sighing, and praying, and looking in at the windows. As are our particular desires, so are our pauses by the way. Little children lisp their measures of the song, before long rows of wonderful toys, and we who are older, and not so very much wiser perhaps, find chances in plenty to repeat their folly. The hungry, see only bread—the shivering, with their numb fingers, clutch at the warm folds of ample garments, that hang temptingly before their eyes—the lovers of ornament, other than that of "a meek and quiet spirit," linger over diamonds and rubies, and pearls—the dwellers in lowly homes, pause before stately mansions, and the wayworn would fain sink languidly into the cushioned couches of the rich.

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Thy frail bark toss'd upon the sea of Life;
Though the tumultuous waters fast surround thee,
Fear not, for I am with thee, in the strife!

Fear not! though friends long trusted now betray thee—
Though where thou seekest aid thou findest scorn;

Let not unkindness nor disdain dismay thee,

For I am with thee till new hope be born.

Fear not! the world these many years of sorrow,
Hath from each night' awoke to sunlit day;
And look thou forward to a happier morrow,
For I am with thee, and will be alway.

Fear not! though cruel hands the ties disperse
Which bound thy heart to earthly joy and love;

Thy trials fit thee for that vast forever,
Where thou shalt reign with Me in Heaven above.

Fear not! though often thy o'erworn spirit
Is bent and worn by fierce temptation's blast;

Forget thou not the crown thou dost inherit,
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LOOKING IN AT THE WINDOWS.

They were child feet—and bare—and they looked piteously blue and cold—for no sunlight glanced upon the gray stones of the pavement where they fell, patiently, and with such a pleading eloquence. Suddenly they stood still.

A faded dress, a torn shawl—black, tangled locks, tumbling defiantly about, in the cool November wind—and the picture of this beggar girl is outlined for you. But only that, and nothing more. There are no warm tints in it—no deep, rich colorings—dull and gray and chill—yet a deep study—for there is a "writing on the wall."

A chapter of heart-life is lining itself out rapidly on that young face, pressing against the window pane. Greedily,

glass darkly," to look in at the windows, for we know when the Son of Man cometh, it will be through the gates of eternal day, and we are promised that we may enter and sit with Him, at the marriage supper of the Lamb, when we may look out at the window of the "many mansions," which have been prepared for us "from the foundation of the world."

G—y

A TOUCHING SCENE.

A French paper says that Lucille Rome, a pretty girl, with blue eye and fair hair, poorly but neatly clad, was brought before the Sixth Court of Correction, under the charge of vagrancy.

"Does any one claim you?" asked the Magistrate.

"Ah! my good Sir," said she, "I have no longer friends; my father and mother are dead—I have only my brother James, but he is as young as I am. Oh sir, what can be done for me?"

"The Court must send you to the House of Correction."

"Here I am, sister—here I am—do not fear," cried a childish voice from the other end of the court, and at the same instant a little boy with a lively countenance started forth from amid the crowd, and stood before the judge.

"Who are you?" said he.

"James Rome, the brother of this little girl."

"Your age?"

"Thirteen."

"And what do you want?"

"I come to claim my Lucille."

"But have you the means of providing for her?"

"Yesterday I had not, but now I have. Don't be afraid, Lucille."

"Oh, how good you are, James."

"Well, let us see, my boy," said the magistrate, "the court is disposed to do all it can for your sister. But you must give us some explanation."

"About a fortnight ago," continued the boy, "my poor mother died of a bad cough, for it was very cold at home. We were in great trouble. Then I said to myself I will be an artist, and when I know a good trade I will support my sister. I went apprentice to a brush maker. Every day I used to carry her half my dinner, and at night took her secretly to my room, and she slept on my bed while I slept on the floor. But it appears she had not enough to eat. One day she begged on the Boulevard, and was taken up. When I heard that I said to myself: Come, my boy; things cannot last so; you must find something better."

"I soon found a place where I am lodged, fed, and clothed, and have twenty francs a month. I have also found a good woman who, for these twenty francs, will take care of my Lucille, and teach her needlework. I claim my sister."

"My boy," said the Judge, "your conduct is very honorable. However, your sister cannot be set at liberty till to-morrow."

"Never mind Lucille," said the boy, "I will come and fetch you early to-morrow." Then turning to the magistrate, he said: "I may kiss her, may I not Sir?"

He threw himself into the arms of his sister and both wept tears of affection.

REVERENCE IN PRAYER.

The great apostle tells us, that to worship God acceptably, we must come "with reverence and Godly fear." Holy and reverend is His name; and no creature, not even the highest angel in heaven, may use that sacred name but with solemn awe and reverence. And yet who has not been pained to hear the lightness with which God's name is often used? Not by the profane and the vulgar only, who are described as "natural brute beasts, that shall utterly perish in their own corruption—as raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, and to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever," but, alas, too often by ministers and others in the solemn worship of the sanctuary! Perhaps the following are among the most obvious evidences of irreverence:

1. Loud and vociferous utterance. However this may excite the feelings, and serve a purpose of kindling a fire of enthusiasm in a religious assembly, it seldom aids, we think, to kindle the fire of true devotion.

2. Frequent and needless use of the names and titles of

God. This is pointedly condemned by the Savior—"use not vain repetitions." This, he alleges, is heathenish. Let our words rather be few and well chosen. And especially in the use of divine attributes and titles.

3. Undue familiarity in our address. This is especially revolting to every cultivated and pious mind. God is a great God. He is in the heavens, and we upon the earth. He is infinite in holiness, and in every excellence; we are creatures of the dust and defiled in every part, therefore it becomes us to come with our hands upon our mouths, and our mouths in the dust.

4. Too rapid, careless utterances in prayer—anything approaching to levity, to personality, to severity, to censoriousness or flattery—these all savor of irreverence, and are inimical to true devotional feeling.—*Pres. Witness.*

AN INCIDENT, WITH A MORAL.

An English journalist says that the *rationale* of Blondin's performance is this: He has perfect confidence in his own sense of touch and balance, and he never looks beneath him. That being so, fifty and five hundred feet are the same to him. He looks in a fixed manner and always above; he is guided by his feet. When he is blindfolded, therefore, he is deprived of a sense which is of no use to him—which may, indeed, prove a source of danger. When the drop of the rope at Niagara was forty feet, and he was at the bottom of the curve, he could scarcely avoid seeing the ends of the rope, and that was a source of danger to him. If he were to look down once, we know what would happen to him; but we may guess that he would find a place where he would never rise to perform any more antics.

If, in life, you would succeed, you must look up. The stars are serene, and stay forever in their spheres; the torrent at your feet whirls and roars, and any look at its turbid waters may plunge you into instant destruction.

THE PRESENCE OF GOD.—Live in the sight of God. This is what heaven will be—the eternal presence of God. Do nothing you would not like God to see. Say nothing you would not like Him to hear. Write nothing you would not like Him to read. Go to no place where you would not like God to find you. Read no books of which you would not like God to say, "Show it me." Never spend your time in such a way that you would not like God to say, "What art thou doing?"

Fletcher illustrated in his own life that which he urged upon others. In consequence of living wholly for Christ he led a happy and a useful life. Here is the secret of happiness and of usefulness.—*Sunday School Times.*

THE EFFECT OF EXAMPLE.—While the rebels confined themselves to robbing the Government, all went "merry as a marriage bell," but when they fell to robbing each other, we must conclude that there is a screw loose in the secession machine. The rumor comes to us that Major Rhett of the honest Commonwealth of South Carolina, Paymaster of the "Confederate" Army, has been practising a bit of "secession" on his own hook, by "mysteriously disappearing" with some 40,000 of the public funds in his pocket. Had we not been taught from childhood that Southern gentlemen were the "soul of honor," we should be disposed to suspect that there was something "rotten in Denmark."—*Albany Journal.*

SALT AS TOOTH POWDER.—If, while examining under the microscope a drop of water containing *infusoria*, you introduce a grain of salt, the effect will be instantaneous death to these creatures. The knowledge of this property of salt may be turned to account in several ways. Among the rest it suggests an excellent tooth powder. If it be true, of some assert, that the matter which is formed on the teeth is the receptacle of animalcules, and that these are the real agents in producing carious teeth, dip a moistened brush in salt, and you have at once the cheapest and most preservative of tooth powders.

ARITHMETICAL.—Any number of figures you may wish to multiply by five will give the same result if divided by two, a much quicker operation, but you must remember to annex a cypher to the answer when there is no remainder; and when there is a remainder, annex a five to the answer.

When a man overcharges his musket he is apt to fire and fall back.

Moral perversity is a frequent source of intellectual obliquity.

Don't measure zeal for your own creed by hatred to persons of other creeds.

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